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Message Text

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R 011550Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6794
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASS MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1057

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, RO
SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ROMANIAN POLICY AND PARTICI-
PATION

REF: (A) STATE 037591, (B) USUN 0650

1. SUMMARY. MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IS ONE OF CHIEF MEANS
BY WHICH ROMANIA CAN HOPE TO LOOSEN CONSTRAINTS OF WARSAW
PACT AND CEMA MEMBERSHIP, AND AS SUCH IT IS GIVEN HIGH
PRIORITY BY ROMANIANS. PROPOSALS RELATED
TO UN REFORM AND DISARMAMENT WERE THE LATEST IN ROMANIA'S
ACTIVISM IN NEW YORK AND GENEVA. ONE OF
GOR'S TOP PRESENT CONCERN IS TO PENETRATE THE REALM OF
THIRD WORLD MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, E.G., AS FULL OB-
SERVER AT THIS YEAR'S NONALGINED CONFERENCE AND WORLD ECONOMIC
SUMMITRY. GOR HAS SHOWN WILLINGNESS TO SPLIT WITH SOVIET
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AND EAST EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES AT UN EVEN WHEN IT HURTS, E.G.,

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ABSENCE AT LAST YEAR'S ANTI-ZIONIST VOTE. ROMANIANS HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH US ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, PARTICULARLY DURING CSCE. HOWEVER, ITS THIRD WORLD IDENTITY AND ASPIRATIONS SEEM LIKELY TO COLOR INCREASINGLY ITS STAND ON MAJOR ISSUES, PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC ONES, DISCUSSED IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS. END SUMMARY.

2. (REFTEL A, PARA 7A) ROMANIA ACTIVELY SUPPORTS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MULTILATERAL CHANNELS OF DIPLOMACY. THROUGH THEM GOR WORKS TO LOOSEN CONSTRAINTS MANDATED BY ITS BLOC MEMBERSHIP, TO REINFORCE ROMANIA'S NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND TO GAIN ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE. AS A RESULT GOR IS AN ACTIVE, OFTEN INTENSE CAMPAIGNER ON ALL MULTILATERAL FRONTS, WHENEVER AND WHEREEVER POSSIBLE; (A) TRADITIONAL MULTILATERAL ORGANS OF UN WHERE SYSTEMIC REFORM AND GREAT-POWER DISARMAMENT, AS XNEFLECTED IN GOR'S LATEST PROPOSALS IN THESE AREAS (BUCHAREST 5544), WILL BE HIGHLIGHTED; GOR'S PRESENT TWO-YEAR TOUR ON UNSC WILL BE EXPLOITED TO REINFORCE GOR'S CREDIBILITY AND PRESTIGE; (B) AD HOC MULTILATERAL GATHERINGS SUCH AS CSCE WHERE GOR CLOSELY CONSULTED WITH US; (C) SUCH REGIONAL CONFERENCES AS LAST MONTH'S BALKAN MEETING WHERE GOR AMBITIONS CONTINUED TO OUTPACE THOSE OF HER NEIGHBORS, PARTICULARLY THE BULGARIANS; (D) SUCH LDC ECONOMIC PRESSURE GROUPS AS GROUP OF 77. CURRENT PRIORITY IS ACHIEVING OBSERVER STATUS AT UPCOMING NONALIGNED COLOMBO SUMMIT. WHETHER GOR'S RECENT ADMITTANCE TO "77" IN MANILA WILL FURTHER COMPLICATE OR ADVANCE THIS OBJECTIVE IS STILL UNCLEAR. GOR HAS BEEN COOL TOWARD MBFR, VIEWING VIENNA TALKS AS GREAT-POWER, BLOC-TO-BLOC EXERCISE.

3. CONDITION ON GOR PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS IS THAT SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF SMALLER-COUNTRY INDEPENDENCE BE GUARANTEED OR INSTITUTIONALIZED. ROMANIA THUS OPPOSES ALL SUPRANATIONAL SCHEMES, DOMINANCE OF ANY GROUP BY A SINGLE LARGE COUNTRY OR "BLOC" OF COUNTRIES (ROMANIA DENIES THAT "77" OR NONALIGNED ARE BLOCS), OR ANY OTHER ARRANGEMENT THAT MIGHT COMPROMISE AUTONOMY AND NATIONAL DECISION-MAKING OR INTERFERE IN ROMANIAN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. IN THIS CONTEXT, GOR MEMBERSHIP IN WARSAW PACT AND CEMA
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HAS BEEN AND PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF RELUCTANT PARTICIPATION, SOMETIMES OBSTRUCTIONISM; GOR VIEWS MULTILATERAL ACTIVITY IN PURELY EAST EUROPEAN CONTEXT AS VEHICLE FOR SOVIET POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF SMALLER, WEAKER PARTNERS. GOR ACTIVELY SEEKS VISIBILITY IN NON-"BLOC" MULTILATERAL BODIES AS POLITICAL COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE USSR'S MILITARY AND ECONOMIC DOMINION.

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4. (REFTEL A PARA 7B) WHILE ALWAYS SENSITIVE TO POSSIBLE SOVIET OBJECTIONS AND CONSEQUENCES THEREOF, GOR HAS BEEN ABLE IN MANY INSTANCES TO DIFFERENTIATE SUCCESSFULLY ITS POLICIES IN MULTILATERAL FIELD FROM THOSE OF USSR. GOR'S SUPPORT FOR "SOCIALIST" ISSUES TENDS TO PARALLEL SELECTIVELY RATHER THAN PARROT SOVIET DECISIONS--E.G., SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, ANTI-COLONIAL AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST THEMES, AND CONDEMNATION OF CAPITALIST ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POLICIES. MOST NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS TO SOVIETEE POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ROMANIAN POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL, AND IN PARTICULAR ITS ABSENCE FROM VOTING ON UNGA ANTI-ZIONIST RESOLUTION, RECOGNITION OF CHILEAN MILITARY REGIME, AND REFUSAL TO JOIN IN ATTEMPTS TO POLITICALLY ISOLATE CHINA, AND INTEREST IN ENTERING INTO ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES OR ORGANS WITHOUT PRIOR SOVIET APPROVAL--I.E., IBRD MEMBERSHIP AND DESIRED LINKS WITH EC. CONTRARY TO REFTEL B (USUN 0605), GOR'S RECOGNITION OF MPLA "LEGITIMACY" IN ANGOLA DOES NOT REPRESENT FULL SUPPORT OF SOVIET ROLE, SINCE AT THE SAME TIME GOR HAS CONDEMNED "ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION". ON QUESTION OF ISRAEL AND PLO RECOGNITION, EMERGENCE OF SOMEWHAT MORE PRO-ARAB LINE IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN RESULT OF ARAB NOT SOVIET PRESSURES, FOR EXAMPLE, THREATENED ARAB BOYCOTT OF TAROM AIRLINES AND ROMANIAN GOODS. GIVEN GOR OVERTURES BOTH BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY TO THIRD WORLD, IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT GOR WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IDENTIFIED WITH THIRD WORLD POSITIONS ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, PRIMARILY ECONOMIC ONES, FOR EXAMPLE CEAUSESCU'S FREQUENT CALLS FOR "NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER". SUCH

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R 011550Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6795
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRZGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1057

RECEPTIVITY WILL ON OCCASION RESULT IN GREATER ACCOMMODA-
TION TO LDC PRESSURES, ALTHOUGH ROMANIA MUST ALSO SEEK TO
MAINTAIN CREDIBLE "MIDDLEMAN" ROLE WITH US AND OTHER
WESTERN ECONOMIC POWERS.

5. (REFTEL A PARAS 7C AND 7D) GOR FULLY INSTRUCTS AND
CONTROLS ACTIVITIES OF ALL DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES, AND GOR REPRESENTATIVES
ABROAD APPARENTLY HAVE LITTLE FREEDOM OF INITIATIVE. IN-
STRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN COMPREHENSIVE IN THE PAST, AND SOMETIMES
HAVE TAKEN THE FORM OF PERSONAL DIRECTIVES FROM CEAUSESCU
HIMSELF. FOR EXAMPLE, WE BELIEVE THAT AMB LIPATTI AT CSCE
WAS GETTING PHONE CALLS DIRECTLY FROM CEAUSESCU AT ONE
POINT, ON THE
OTHER HAND, LOS DELEGATION SEEMINGLY HAS
FAIRLY LOOSE MANDATE. TO EMBASSY'S KNOWLEDGE THERE HAVE
BEEN NO PARTICULAR REPORTING PROBLEMS, AND COMMUNICATION
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BETWEEN DELEGATIONS ABROAD AND BUCHAREST IS PRESUMED GOOD.
ONLY INSTANCES OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE IS WHICH GOR DELEGA-
TIONS HAVE HELD UP NEGOTIATIONS ON PLEA OF LACK OF INSTRUC-
TIONS HAVE OCCURRED WITHIN CEMA AND WARSAW PACT FRAMEWORK.

6. (REFTEL A PARA 7E) GOR IS ALWAYS READY TO KEEP
DIALOGUE GOING WITH US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, AND
ESPECIALLY EAGER TO CONSULT REGULARLY WHERE FEAR OF ISOLA-
TION AMIDST GREAT-POWER PRESSURES IS GREATEST--E.G., CSCE
AND DISARMAMENT TALKS. MOST RECENTLY, GOR REQUESTED AND
RECEIVED US ASSISTANCE FOR ADMITTANCE TO ENERGY
TALKS IN PARIS, AND HAS INITIATED CONSULTATIVE PROCESS WITH US
SINCE ASSUMING UNSC SEAT. BASICALLY DIFFERENT PRIORITIES,
PARTICULARLY ON THIRD WORLD ISSUES, HAVE CREATED POTENTIAL
IN FUTURE FOR FUTURE US-ROMANIAN DISAGREEMENT, AND GOR'S PROPOSALS
FOR DISARMAMENT, WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER, AND UN REFORM
REPRESENT MAIN AREAS OF BILATERAL DIFFERENCES AT
PRESENT. NEVERTHELESS, GOR BEHAVIOR IN UN HAS BEEN MARKED
BY ATTEMPTED MEDIATION, CONSENSUS-BUILDING, AND AVOIDANCE
OF POLARIZATION, AS ILLUSTRATED BY ITS STILL MODERATE

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MIDDLE EAST POLICY. UNTIL NOW, ROMANIA HAS KEPT
ITS THIRD WORLD RHETORIC FROM AFFECTING RELATIONS WITH
THE US.

7. EMBASSY POLITICAL COUNSELOR EDWARD MAINLAND IS
DESIGNATED POST MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER.
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